

CIA/OCI/BRIEF 098-75
25 JUNE 1975

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WESTERN HEMISPHERE BRIEF 078-75-4

ARGENTINA: PRESIDENT PERON HAS HELD ANOTHER OF HER INFREQUENT MEETINGS WITH RICARDO BALBIN, THE LEADER OF THE MAJOR OPPOSITION PARTY--THE RADICAL CIVIC UNION. AS IN PREVIOUS SESSIONS, MRS. PERON LISTENED TO BALBIN'S TACTFUL CRITICISMS OF HER ADMINISTRATION, BUT WAS NOT PARTICULARLY FORTHCOMING OR CONCILIATORY. THE ONLY NOTABLE DIFFERENCE WAS THE PRESENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTER VIGNES, WHO ACTED AS MRS. PERON'S SECRETARY IN PLACE OF LOPEZ REGA, WHO WAS TEMPORARILY OUT OF THE COUNTRY. *

IN SPITE OF MRS. PERON'S EFFORT TO PAY LIP SERVICE TO THE POLITICAL DIALOGUE INITIATED BY HER LATE HUSBAND, HER APPARENTLY TOTAL DEPENDENCE ON LOPEZ REGA HAS DISCOURAGED CONSTRUCTIVE CONTACTS WITH ALL POLITICAL SECTORS, INCLUDING OTHER PERONIST OFFICIALS. BALBIN IS UNDER PRESSURE FROM HIS PARTY, AS INDICATED BY HIS REPORTED STATEMENT TO THE PRESIDENT THAT THEIR MEETINGS MUST PRODUCE RESULTS. OTHER SPOKESMEN FOR THE CENTRIST RADICALS NOW OPENLY STATE THAT IF NO ACTION IS TAKEN ON THEIR COMPLAINTS, THE PARTY WILL ISSUE A DOCUMENT SAYING THAT THE "DIALOGUE IS DEAD." *

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BALBIN MAY WELL BE IN DANGER OF LOSING HIS RANTEO TO SOMEONE MORE AGGRESSIVE BECAUSE OF HIS EFFORTS TO PLAY THE ROLE OF A CONSTRUCTIVE CRITIC. IN THE PAST HIS DETRACTORS HAVE CHARACTERIZED BALBIN AS AN "OLD HACK," AND LAST WEEK THE EXTREMIST MONTONERO ORGANIZATION REVIVED THIS CHARGE IN A FULL-PAGE ANNOUNCEMENT PUBLISHED IN SEVERAL PROMINENT US AND EUROPEAN NEWSPAPERS. THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS PAID FOR BY THE HUGE BUNGE AND BORN COMPANY AS PART OF AN AGREEMENT WITH THE MONTONEROS TO FACILITATE THE RELEASE OF TWO KIDNAPPED COMPANY EXECUTIVES. THE ARTICLE SPECIFICALLY ATTACKED BALBIN AS ONE OF THE POLITICIANS WHO "PLAY AT CONSTRUCTIVE OPPOSITION BASED ON DIALOGUE AND RESPECT FOR THE INSTITUTIONS" AND "ONE OF THE MASTERS OF ALL THE SKILLS TO MAKE THE POPULAR STRUGGLE THEIR OWN, WITHOUT EVER REPRESENTING THEIR INTEREST."⁴

MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE POSSIBLE REPLACEMENT OF BALBIN, HOWEVER, IS THE FACT THAT NONE OF THE OPPOSITION PARTIES HAS DEVELOPED VIABLE ALTERNATIVES TO THE GOVERNMENT'S INCREASINGLY UNPOPULAR POLICIES. HISTORICALLY IT HAS BEEN PRECISELY THIS ABSENCE OF DEMOCRATIC OPTIONS THAT HAS FACILITATED THE INTERVENTION OF THE ARMED FORCES AS THE

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MIDDLE EAST AFRICA BRIEF 098-75.4

1. INDIA: PRIME MINISTER GANDHI'S POLITICAL POSITION WAS FURTHER DAMAGED ON TUESDAY BY A SUPREME COURT JUSTICE'S RULING BARRING HER FROM FULL PARTICIPATION IN PARLIAMENT, PENDING A DECISION BY THE COURT ON HER APPEAL OF THE CONVICTION FOR CAMPAIGN VIOLATIONS IN 1971.4

THE DECISION ALLOWS HER TO STAY ON AS HEAD OF GOVERNMENT AND ENGAGE IN PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE IN THAT CAPACITY, BUT DENIES HER THE VOTE TO WHICH AN ELECTED MEMBER IS ENTITLED. ALTHOUGH THE RESTRICTION IS ACADEMIC AS LONG AS PARLIAMENT REMAINS IN RECESS, IT WILL STIMULATE NEW DEMANDS FROM THE OPPOSITION FOR HER RESIGNATION, PROBABLY ACCCOMPANIED BY MASS DEMONSTRATIONS AND BY A NATIONWIDE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE CAMPAIGN.4

MRS. GANDHI COULD POSTPONE RECONVENING PARLIAMENT UNTIL NOVEMBER, WHEN THE MAXIMUM SIX-MONTH SPAN BETWEEN SESSIONS EXPIRES. IF SHE DOES NOT CALL THE USUAL SUMMER SESSION IN MID-JULY, HOWEVER, SHE WILL COME UNDER BITTER ATTACK FROM OPPOSITION PARTIES. THEY ARE EAGER FOR PARLIAMENT TO RECONVENE

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SO THEY CAN OBSTRUCT ITS PROCEEDINGS AND CONTINUE TO FOCUS PUBLIC ATTENTION ON CHARGES OF CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT.⁴

THE SUPREME COURT WILL BEGIN DELIBERATING ON MRS. GANDHI'S CASE AFTER IT REASSEMBLES ON JULY 14. IF THE COURT CONFINES ITSELF TO REVIEWING ONLY THE POINTS OF LAW INVOLVED IN THE LOWER COURT DECISION, A VERDICT SHOULD BE ISSUED BY THE END OF AUGUST. IF, HOWEVER, THE COURT UNDERTAKES A REVIEW OF THE FACTS OF THE CASE, AS WELL AS THE POINT OF LAW, A DECISION MAY NOT BE HANDED DOWN FOR SEVERAL MONTHS.⁴

IN THAT EVENT, MRS. GANDHI MIGHT BE PRESSED BY HER OWN CONGRESS PARTY TO STEP DOWN IN FAVOR OF AN INTERIM PRIME MINISTER. AT THIS TIME, PARTY LEADERS REMAIN PUBLICLY UNITED BEHIND HER, BUT WITH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS REQUIRED BEFORE NEXT SPRING, MANY ARE WARY ABOUT THE IMPACT OF RECENT EVENTS ON THE PUBLIC. THE LONGER MRS. GANDHI'S CASE DRAGS ON, THE WIDER OPPOSITION TO HER CONTINUING IN OFFICE IS LIKELY TO BECOME. {CONFIDENTIAL}⁴

2. SAUDI ARABIA: A REORGANIZATION OF SAUDI PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION WILL PROBABLY GET UNDER WAY IN JULY. IT ALSO

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SEEMS LIKELY THAT A CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY WILL BE ESTABLISHED IN THE NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE. THESE TWO CHANGES IN GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE WERE PROPOSED IN A MAJOR POLICY SPEECH DELIVERED BY CROWN PRINCE FAHD IN EARLY APRIL, SHORTLY AFTER FAYSAL'S ASSASSINATION.⁴

THE REFORM OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN CONTEMPLATED SINCE OCTOBER 1983, WHEN DETAILED PROVINCIAL REGULATIONS WERE APPROVED BY THE KING, BUT NEVER IMPLEMENTED. NEXT MONTH THE COUNTRY'S MANY "MINOR" EMIRATES PROBABLY WILL BE AGGREGATED INTO FIVE PROVINCES THAT WILL TAKE THEIR PLACE ALONGSIDE EIGHT EXISTING "MAJOR" PROVINCES. ACCOMPANYING REFORMS WILL ENABLE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT TO CARRY OUT TASKS NOW PERFORMED IN RIYADH BY CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES, THUS SPEEDING UP ADMINISTRATIVE DECISIONS. THE REORGANIZATION PLAN ALSO CALLS FOR THE CREATION OF LOCAL COUNCILS IN EACH PROVINCE, TO BE MADE UP OF REPRESENTATIVES OF MINISTRIES FUNCTIONING IN THE PROVINCE AS WELL AS LOCAL NOTABLES APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR.⁴

THE CHANGES WILL PROBABLY LEAD TO A LESS PERSONALLY-ORIENTED SYSTEM OF RULE AND TO GREATER UNIFORMITY IN ADMINISTRATIVE DECISION ACROSS THE COUNTRY. THEY PROBABLY WILL NOT WEAKEN THE CENTRAL

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GOVERNMENT OR GREATLY ENHANCE THE POWER OF THE GOVERNORS.

PRINCE FAHD HAS BEEN ADVOCATING A CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY SINCE THE LATE 1960S, WHEN HE WAS TRYING TO BROADEN HIS POLITICAL BASE AND ESTABLISH A REPUTATION AS THE ROYAL FAMILY'S MODERNIZER. IN GIVING HIS BACKING TO AN ASSEMBLY, FAHD IS ACTING NOT TO DEMOCRATIZE THE SAUDI SYSTEM, BUT TO CONTROL ITS EVOLUTION. HE FAVORS AN APPOINTIVE, NOT AN ELECTED, BODY. FAHD'S ARGUMENT IS THAT ELECTIONS WOULD RESULT IN THE SELECTION OF OLD-LINE RELIGIOUS AND TRIBAL NOTABLES; GIVING HIM THE APPOINTING POWER, HE SAYS, WOULD ENSURE THE REPRESENTATION OF THE NEW CLASS OF EDUCATED SAUDI BUSINESSMEN AND BUREAUCRATS.⁴

CONSERVATIVES IN THE ROYAL FAMILY MAY TRY TO STALL AN ASSEMBLY, SEEING IN IT DANGERS TO FAMILY HEGEMONY. IF THE IDEA OF AN ASSEMBLY GETS OFF THE GROUND, FAHD WILL BE UNDER PRESSURE FROM TRADITIONAL ELITES TO GIVE THEM A SHARE OF SEATS. IF ABLE MODERNISTS ARE APPOINTED, THEY WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY SEEK TO ENLARGE THEIR ROLE IN THE GOVERNMENTAL PROCESS.⁴

AS OF EARLY JUNE THE SAUDIS WERE STILL WRESTLING WITH SUCH

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QUESTIONS AS WHAT KINDS OF ISSUES AN ASSEMBLY SHOULD BE EMPOWERED TO DISCUSS, WHETHER IT SHOULD HAVE THE AUTHORITY TO INITIATE MATTERS, AND WHAT WEIGHT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD GIVE TO THE ASSEMBLY'S RECOMMENDATIONS. FAHD'S ASSEMBLY MAY BE SOMEHOW GRAFTED ONTO AN EXISTING, BUT LARGEY MORIBUND INSTITUTION, FOUNDED IN 1926 AND BASED IN MECCA. IT HAS RARELY BEEN CONSULTED BY SAUDI KINGS AND DEALS LARGELY WITH ISSUES OF THE HEJAZ REGION. {CONFIDENTIAL}4

3. KENYA: KENYA APPEARS TO BE IN FOR AN EXTENDED PERIOD OF TENSION. PRESIDENT KENYATTA, WHOSE POPULARITY AND CREDIBILITY HAVE BEEN RODING FOR SOME TIME, IS NOW FACING AN INCREASINGLY REBELLIOUS PARLIAMENT AND IS EVEN HAVING PROBLEMS WITH SOME MEMBERS OF HIS CABINET. FEAR OF KENYATTA MAY DETER HIS CRITICS FROM CHALLENGING HIM DIRECTLY, HOWEVER.4

THE PRESENTATION TO PARLIAMENT EARLIER THIS MONTH OF THE REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING THE KARIUKI MURDER AND THE GOVERNMENT'S HANDLING OF THE CASE LED TO SEVERAL DAYS OF HEATED DEBATE. THE COMMITTEE REPORT:4

--NAMED THREE PERSONS AS THE PROBABLE TRIGGERMEN.4

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--CONDEMNED THE POLICE INVESTIGATION HAD BEEN
NEITHER THOROUGH NOR GENUINE, AND THAT THE POLICE
KNEW THE IDENTITY OF THE CRIMINALS.4

--CALLED FOR THE OUSTER OF THE COMMANDER OF
THE PARAMILITARY POLICE AND THREE OTHER HIGH
RANKING POLICE OFFICERS.4

THE ORIGINAL COMMITTEE REPORT CALLED FOR A FURTHER
INVESTIGATION TO DETERMINE THE POSSIBLE ROLE IN THE CRIME
OF TWO OF KENYATTA'S ASSOCIATES: MINISTER OF STATE MBIYU
KOINANGE AND ARTHUR WANYOIKE THUNGU, HEAD OF THE PRESIDENTIAL
BODYGUARD. AS A RESULT OF PRESSURE BY KENYATTA, THE TWO NAMES
WERE DELETED FROM THE VERSION OF THE REPORT GIVEN TO THE PRESS.
NEVERTHELESS, THE COMMITTEE'S SUSPICIONS ABOUT THEM AND KENYATTA'S
EFFORTS TO PREVENT PERSONS SO CLOSE TO HIM FROM BEING MENTIONED NOW
APPEAR TO BE COMMON KNOWLEDGE IN KENYA.4

IN PARLIAMENT, A GOVERNMENT EFFORT TO DELAY DEBATE ON THE
COMMITTEE REPORT WAS DEFEATED ON JUNE 4. A WEEK LATER, ANOTHER
GOVERNMENT MOTION, WHICH WOULD HAVE VITIATED THE IMPACT OF THE

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REPORT, WAS ALSO REJECTED. ON BOTH OCCASIONS, ONLY 59 LEGISLATORS VOTED WITH THE GOVERNMENT DESPITE PRESSURE FROM KENYATTA. SIXTY-TWO VOTED WITH THE OPPOSITION, AND OVER 40 ABSENTED THEMSELVES.⁴

THREE CABINET MEMBERS WERE AMONG THOSE WHO DEFIED KENYATTA AND VOTED AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT MOTION; THREE OTHERS WERE ABSENT. THE SIX DEFECTING CABINET MEMBERS ALL HAD PERSONAL TIES TO EITHER KARIUKI OR TOM MBOYA, A PROMINENT POLITICIAN WHO WAS MURDERED IN 1969. AS OPPONENTS OF POLITICAL DOMINATION BY KENYATTA'S SOUTHERN BRANCH OF THE KIKUYU TRIBE, THEY MAY HAVE FELT THAT NOW WAS THE TIME TO PUT SOME DISTANCE BETWEEN THEM AND THE PRESIDENT. KENYATTA IMMEDIATELY FIRED THE THREE MINISTERS WHO VOTED WITH THE OPPOSITION.⁴

KENYATTA IS UNLIKELY TO TAKE ANY ACTION AGAINST THE POLICE OFFICIALS OR OTHERS NAMED IN THE COMMITTEE REPORT. ALTHOUGH ~~KENYATTA~~ KENYATTA'S OPPONENTS ARE BECOMING BOLDER, THEY ARE WELL AWARE THAT THEY ARE NO MATCH FOR HIM AS LONG AS HE RETAINS CONTROL OF THE CIVIL SERVICE, THE POLICE, AND THE ARMED FORCES. MOREOVER, THE CRITICS, IN VARYING DEGREES, HAVE A STAKE IN PRESERVING KENYA'S PROSPERITY AND ITS STILL LARGELY FUNCTIONING DEMOCRATIC

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EUROPEAN BRIEF 098-75.4

I. PORTUGAL: THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL'S DEBATE ON BASIC POLICY ~~IN~~ LAST WEEK MAY HAVE BEEN MORE BITTERLY FOUGHT THAN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE ISSUED SATURDAY REVEALED.⁴

RUMORS OF SHARP SPLITS WITHIN THE COUNCIL HAVE BEEN CIRCULATING IN LISBON, AND ONE UNCONFIRMED REPORT INDICATES PRIME MINISTER GONCALVES OFFERED HIS RESIGNATION BECAUSE HE OPPOSED THE MODERATE TONE OF THE DOCUMENT. THE RESIGNATION HAS NOT BEEN ANNOUNCED BECAUSE FOREIGN MINISTER ANTUNES, A RESPECTED MODERATE, REFUSED TO TAKE THE JOB AND GONCALVES AGREED TO STAY ON FOR THE TIME BEING.⁴

Moderate political parties in Portugal are encouraged by the recent turn of events and hope that the momentum that has developed will have an impact on impending council decisions on the freedom of information disputes centering on the Socialist newspaper REPUBLICA and on the Catholic radio station. There have been no new developments in either dispute, but the Socialists and the Catholic church are using the lull to develop

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POLITICAL SUPPORT AND TO SECURE THE BACKING OF INFLUENTIAL EXTERNAL FORCES. THE VATICAN HAS EXPRESSED ITS STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE PORTUGUESE CHURCH, WHILE THE PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS ARE BEING AIDED BY THE SOCIALIST-LEANING QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS WHICH HAS PUBLISHED TWO EDITIONS OF A FRENCH-LANGUAGE REPUBLICA.⁴

SOCIALIST AND CATHOLIC LEADERS HAVE SOME BASIS FOR HOPING THAT THESE PRESSURES WILL INFLUENCE COUNCIL MEMBERS IN THEIR CURRENT DELIBERATIONS ON HOW TO RESOLVE THE TWO CASES. THERE ARE STRONG INDICATIONS THAT THE MODERATES' ARGUMENTS WERE STRENGTHENED CONSIDERABLY IN THE DEBATE ON THE POLICY STATEMENT LAST WEEK BY THE FACT THAT WEST EUROPEAN OFFERS OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE HAVE BEEN LINKED TO THE ADOPTION OF A PLURALIST APPROACH IN PORTUGAL. A MAJOR PORTION OF THE COUNCIL'S COMMUNIQUE DEALT WITH PORTUGAL'S SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, AND MOVEMENT MEMBERS APPEAR TO BE INCREASINGLY AWARE THAT WESTERN EUROPE OFFERS THE BEST HOPE FOR SUBSTANTIAL ASSISTANCE.

{CONFIDENTIAL}⁴

2. SPAIN: IN A SPEECH TO THE SPANISH PARLIAMENT ON TUESDAY,

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PRIME MINISTER ARIAS TRIED TO PLACATE HIS CRITICS ON BOTH THE LEFT AND RIGHT BY STRESSING THE NEED FOR LAW AND ORDER, AS WELL AS FURTHER POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT, BUT NEITHER GROUP IS LIKELY TO BE FULLY SATISFIED.⁴

ARIAS DEVOTED MORE OF HIS SPEECH TO PRINCE JUAN CARLOS, GENERAL FRANCO'S DESIGNATED HEIR, THAN TO FRANCO, BUT HE SHED NO LIGHT ON WHEN THE TRANSFER OF POWER WOULD TAKE PLACE. ARIAS THUS DISAPPOINTED THE MANY SPANIARDS WHO HAVE BEEN CALLING FOR FRANCO TO STEP DOWN. THE EXTENSIVE PRAISE FOR JUAN CARLOS MAY HAVE BEEN INTENDED AS A SLAP AGAINST THE PRINCE'S FATHER, DON JUAN OF BORBON, WHO RECENTLY RENEWED HIS CLAIM TO THE THRONE.⁴

THE PRIME MINISTER SINGLED OUT THE OUTLAWED COMMUNISTS AS THE GREATEST OBSTACLE TO A SMOOTH TRANSITION AFTER FRANCO GOES. HE ANNOUNCED THAT BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR, HE WOULD SEND THE PARLIAMENT A SPECIAL DRAFT LAW ON FIGHTING COMMUNISM. THE LAW PROBABLY MEANS HARSH POLICE ACTION AGAINST THE COMMUNISTS AND THEIR ALLIES IN THE UNDERGROUND TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND IN THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED DEMOCRATIC JUNTA, WHICH WAS FORMED IN PARTS

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LAST JULY, AND NOW OPERATES CLANDESTINELY IN SPAIN.⁴

ARIAS ALSO CONDEMNED SEPARATIST MOVEMENTS, ESPECIALLY THOSE IN THE TROUBLED BASQUE PROVINCES. HE DID SOUND A CONCILIATORY NOTE, HOWEVER, SAYING HIS GOVERNMENT IS LOOKING AT REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS THAT COULD MEET SOME SEPARATIST GRIEVANCES.⁴

THE PRIME MINISTER SPOKE AGAIN OF WIDER POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT THROUGH CREATION OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS, A PROJECT THAT HAS THUS FAR FAILED TO AROUSE MUCH PUBLIC INTEREST. HE SAID THAT ASSOCIATIONS WILL BE PERMITTED TO PARTICIPATE IN A PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION IN THE FALL. IN THIS CONNECTION, ARIAS CITED THE APPOINTMENT LAST WEEK OF JOSE SOLIS RUIZ AS MINISTER-SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT. SOLIS, ARIAS NOTED, WAS AN EARLY ACTIVE PROMOTER OF ASSOCIATIONS. ARIAS CAN TAKE LITTLE OTHER COMFORT FROM SOLIS' APPOINTMENT. SOLIS, AN AMBITIOUS POLITICIAN WHO HAS BEEN MENTIONED AS A FUTURE PRIME MINISTER, REPORTEDLY WAS APPOINTED BY FRANCO AGAINST ARIAS' WISH. {CONFIDENTIAL}⁴

3. USSR-POLAND: LAST WEEK EAST GERMAN PARTY LEADER HONECKER MADE A SHORT AND UNHERALDED VISIT TO MOSCOW TO TALK

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TO BREZHNEV. ON MONDAY, IT WAS POLISH PARTY CHIEF
GIEREK'S TURN.

GIEREK GOT THE SAME TREATMENT IN THE SOVIET MEDIA AS HONECKER, AND INDEED, THE TOPICS OF HIS DISCUSSION WITH BREZHNEV SEEM TO HAVE BEEN MUCH THE SAME; PREPARATIONS FOR THEIR RESPECTIVE PARTY CONGRESSES; PROSPECTS FOR CLOSER ECONOMIC, CULTURAL, AND OTHER COOPERATION; AND, MOST IMPORTANT, COORDINATION OF EFFORTS IN THE MAKING OF THE NEXT {1976-80} FIVE YEAR PLAN. THE LAST IS ALSO BEING DISCUSSED AT THE CURRENT CEMA MINISTERIAL MEETING IN BUDAPEST.

THE BREVITY OF THE VISITS AND THE POSITIVE SOVIET TREATMENT SUGGEST THAT THE TALKS WENT WELL. IT MAY BE THAT THE SOVIETS, BY STARTING OFF WITH HONECKER AND GIEREK, HOPE TO CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE THAT WILL MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE ROMANIANS TO OPPOSE SOVIET EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE GREATER ECONOMIC INTEGRATION. BREZHNEV MAY ALSO BE GETTING HIS DUCKS IN A ROW BE-

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FORE SUCH INTERNATIONAL GATHERINGS AS THE EUROPEAN SECURITY SUMMIT AND EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE.

IT IS POSSIBLE THAT ONE-DAY BILATERAL VISITS WILL BE THIS YEAR'S SURROGATE FOR A CRIMEAN SUMMIT OF EAST EUROPEAN PARTY LEADERS. {CRIMEAN MEETINGS WERE HELD FROM 1971 THROUGH 1973, BUT NOT LAST YEAR.} IF SO, THE BULGARIAN, HUNGARIAN, AND CZECHOSLOVAK LEADERS OUGHT TO BE SHOWING UP IN MOSCOW SOON. ~~REF ID: A6510~~ {CONFIDENTIAL}Y

4. BULGARIA-ROMANIA: THE ZHIVKOV-CEAUSESCU TALKS IN ROMANIA LAST WEEK MADE PROGRESS ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, BUT POLITICAL DIFFERENCES CONTINUE. IN THE PAST, ZHIVKOV HAS TALKED WITH CEAUSESCU, PRESUMABLY AT MOSCOW'S BEHEST, IN AN EFFORT TO PERSUADE THE RECALCITRANT ROMANIAN LEADER TO MODIFY HIS INDEPENDENT STANCE. Y

THIS IS THE THIRD TIME IN LITTLE MORE THAN A YEAR THAT THE TWO LEADERS HAVE MET FOR "SUMMIT-LEVEL" TALKS. AT LAST WEEK'S MEETING THE TWO SIDES AGREED TO CONSTRUCT A MACHINE BUILDING ENTERPRISE.

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ON THE ROMANIAN-BULGARIAN BORDER, AND BUCHAREST ALSO
BOWED TO SOFIA'S LONG-HELD DESIRE TO BUILD A HYDRO-
ELECTRIC COMPLEX ON THE DANUBE RIVER. BY BEING
SOMEWHAT MORE COOPERATIVE WITH STAUNCHLY PRO-SOVIET
SOFIA, BUCHAREST MAY HOPE TO STAVE OFF REPORTED SO-
VIET EFFORTS FOR TIGHTER ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AT THE
CEMA MINISTERIAL TALKS THAT OPENED ON JUNE 24 IN
BUDAPEST. 34

CEAUSESCU MAY HAVE BEEN HINTING THAT HE WAS SEEKING TO RELIEVE PRESSURE FROM MOSCOW WHEN HE STRESSED THAT ROMANIAN-BULGARIAN COOPERATION "CAN BE A MODEL OF THE NEW KIND OF RELATIONS BETWEEN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES." HE ADDED THAT RELATIONS MUST BE CARRIED OUT IN THE SPIRIT OF "FULL EQUALITY OF RIGHTS, RESPECT FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY, AND NONINTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS."

THE TWO LEADERS APPARENTLY AGREED TO DISAGREE
ON POLITICAL ISSUES FACING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMU-

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NIST MOVEMENT, INCLUDING PREPARATIONS FOR THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST CONFERENCE. CEAUȘESCU CALLED FOR INCREASED UNITY BASED ON THE INDEPENDENCE OF EACH PARTY, WHILE ZHIVKOV ADVOCATED SOLIDARITY ALONG STRICTER, MORE SOVIET-ORIENTED LINES. THE ROMANIAN ALSO UNDERSCORED THE SIMILARITIES BETWEEN BUCHAREST'S POLICIES AND THOSE OF THE THIRD WORLD.⁴

THE LEADERS AGREED ON THE NEED FOR BALKAN CO-OPERATION, NOTING THAT "ALL THE LITIGIOUS ISSUES AMONG THE BALKAN STATES CAN AND MUST BE SOLVED BY PEACEFUL MEANS," AND ON SUCH OTHER ISSUES AS CYPRUS, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS.

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EAST ASIA BRIEF 098-75-4

1. //CHINA: PEKING'S "PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP" CAMPAIGN, WHICH BEGAN EARLY THIS YEAR WITH NUMEROUS AUTHORITATIVE ARTICLES, HAS THUS FAR SETTLED DOWN INTO AN ORDINARY STUDY MOVEMENT. THE CAMPAIGN'S HEAVY EMPHASIS ON PRODUCTION IS IN CONTRAST TO THE CONVULSIONS AND PURGES OF OTHER CAMPAIGNS OF THE PAST NINE YEARS, MOVEMENTS THAT ESSENTIALLY INVOLVED POLITICAL STRUGGLE. THE CONSTANT CALLS FOR UNITY AND STABILITY SUGGEST, HOWEVER, CONTINUED APPREHENSION THAT THE CAMPAIGN COULD GET OUT OF HAND.//4

//THE SO-CALLED "RECTIFICATION" PHASE OF THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN, ANTICIPATED WITH SOME FEAR AT THE LOCAL LEVELS, TO DATE, HAS BEEN USED TO CRACK DOWN ON ECONOMIC CRIMES-CORRUPTION, PROFITEERING, THEFT, AND INFLUENCE-PEDDLING-RATHER THAN ON POLITICAL WRONGDOING. OFFENDERS ARE SUBJECTED NOT TO PURGE BUT TO EDUCATION AND, IN MORE SERIOUS CASES, TO IMPRISONMENT.//4

//IN ITS EARLIER STAGES, THE CAMPAIGN WAS INTERPRETED BY MANY OBSERVERS AS AN ATTEMPT TO MOVE CHINA RAPIDLY TOWARD COMMUNISM, WHEN WAGES WOULD BE EQUALIZED AND VARIOUS ECONOMIC

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//THE CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN LINKED CLOSELY WITH CALLS FOR STABILITY, A COMMON THEME FOR ALMOST A YEAR THAT BEARS DIRECTLY ON CHINA'S PRODUCTION GOALS. ACCORDING TO THE PROPAGANDA, STABILITY IS NECESSARY TO "GAIN TIME" TO PURSUE MODERNIZATION IN A VARIETY OF ECONOMIC AREAS.

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